1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

XXXVI

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

Ceremonies in Connexion with Sowing and Harvest. The Talense Calendar

527 THERE appear to be at least three great festivals which are held by the Talense in connexion with the crops and harvest. These are:

(*a*) *Gologo*, held in the month of February by the whole of the Talense.

b) *Bugram Waa* (lit. the *Bugram* dance) held in October by the following towns: Sia, Winduri, Gorogo, Wakyi, Teŋ'zugu, and Gbeo.

(*c*) *Da koom*, *Da mey* or simply *Waa*, (the dance) held by Bade and Tongo, in the months of August and September.

[171] Among the Nankanse we have seen that the October festival is called *Tingana* (the Groves), or simply *Waa* (the Dance), a festival which is held by Winkoŋo, Orogo, Kologo, and Na, in rotation.

(*a*) *The Gologo Ceremony*: It was my intention to have attended this ceremony in person; hence I omitted to obtain a full description of it. I am informed, however, that during the time when the festival is being held 'every one is permitted to abuse his neighbour and even to laugh at any physical deformity, and that no one is allowed to quarrel'. [171] All this seems most reminiscent of the *Apo* ceremony, which has been described in another volume.[1] Circumstances, however, prevented me ever carrying out my intention, and a full description of this ceremony must be left to some other historian to record. I hope an account of it will be obtained before the extraordinarily rapid changes in conditions in these parts have interfered with or altered its characteristic observances.

527 793 •796 535 *The Da koom and Da mey Ceremonies*: 'When we dance these, all our ancestors sleep. When the time approaches for the ceremonies, the *Ten'dan'* of Bade takes a calabash (*zu-gur*, lit. a head-calabash), puts it in a net, and hangs it outside the entrance to the *zoyo* hut. When the rain falls, it is filled. Before dawn, early in the morning after the appearance of the new moon, the Bat (*Anglice* Bade) *Ten'dan'* pours out

[1] See *Ashanti*, Chapter XV.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

some of the water from this calabash on the ground, saying: 'Your day is drawing near, and I wish to pour water for you that the corn may be good. Your moon stands.' A little only of the water is poured out, but the remainder is kept until the next moon, which is the *Daa mey* (or 'real' *Daa*). The first water is called *Ko'-beet* (bad water); the water poured out later is called *Ko'soy* (good water). Until the *Ten'dan'* of Bade has performed this ceremony no one may begin to hold the custom; we dance thirty nights at the grove. Seven days after the bad water is poured out, beer and a fowl are given to the land with the words:

'*Misore* and his father wish to come forth; receive, and let the women and children come out to dance and let the men meet them there. Prevent headache and belly-ache and may everything bad on the land (snakes, scorpions) hide away.'

As they dance they sing: *La pug dill* (the corn is blooming).

At the end of thirty days the Bade *Ten'dan'* pours out the rest of the water on the ground, saying: 'This is the good water I am pouring to-day; may the land become good; may women bear children and the corn become good.' He pours out the whole of the water. The *Daa mey* has now arrived and the people dance for fifteen nights, singing: *Laa moo zimi* (It [the corn] is red). Every one assembles by the full moon at the grove called *Pusig* (the name of a tree now no longer standing).

The *Ten'dan'* of Gbeo sacrifices at *Misore's* grave.[1] When he reaches the grove, he takes some beer, flour, and a fowl, which the Chief of Tɔngo has given him, and sacrifices at the spot where the *pusig* tree used to stand, saying to the land: 'The Chief gives me these things for you because the days (of the festival) are ending. We wish to return the drums to the house; allow the women and children to sleep in peace; allow the men to go hunting.' He then makes the sacrifices.

The drums, called *Tusgunwaa*, are kept by the Chief and are never brought out except at this ceremony or at a death. '*Daa* is a dance on the land that it may know all is well.'

Formerly the day of sowing was common to all, so all harvests became ripe at the same time. Now people plant independently, so that the reaping is done at different times. The *Da koom* may not be held until all the *nara* is cut, so that the date is not now constant.

[1] See *History*, Chapter XXXIII.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

XXXVII

THE TALENSE (*continued*)

Tɔŋ-nab

THE ceremony I am about to describe was one which I witnessed on Sunday 6 May 1928. It was, perhaps, the most interesting and extraordinary of many curious rites which it has been my privilege to attend in the course of many years of anthropological field-work. Perhaps I regard it thus because particular associations have made it so for me, but I use the word 'extraordinary' advisedly, on account of the almost grotesque blending of the ultra-new with the things which are very old. Flying machines, motor-cars, and the cultivation of cocoa—these seem out of place with pagan gods and naked humanity, but in this ceremony all were mingled, and staged in a setting which must have been familiar to troglodyte man. *Tɔŋ-nab*[1] means literally the Chief of Tɔŋ. Its shrine is perhaps the best known in the country about which I write, and its fame and name have passed beyond the boundaries of the Northern Territories and reached as far down as to the sea-board towns of the Gold Coast.

'Its power is from God (*Na Ŧin*); its priest is the local *Ŧen'dan*'; its taboos, which must be observed by all its devotees, include the following avoidances:

(*a*) Clothes, when attending ceremonies in connexion with its cult.
(*b*) *Zia-kom* (corn and water mixed).
(*c*) Beer made from *zia*-corn.
(*d*) *Meya* (water turtle).
(*e*) *Sakur* (tortoise).
(*f*) *Bandog* (crocodile).
(*g*) *Wafo* (python).

An oath may be taken on this god, which runs: *M'po Tɔŋ nab la a zia koom* (I swear by *Tɔŋ nab* and its corn-water).

The home of this deity is in the Tong Hills, that beautiful low range which rises from the compound-scattered millet flats below. There seem to be two rendezvous at which the hundreds of pilgrims, who come from all quarters in the dry seasons to make their vows before this shrine, foregather. After climbing from the plains one enters a rugged

[1] It is also known as *Ŧa ni* and *Ŧa pwiga*.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

788 776 778 defile, which winds up the hill-side and then suddenly emerges on a grassy table-land, the home of countless flocks of wild guinea-fowl. There are no villages or compounds on the summit, for, after the punitive expedition many years ago, the people were ordered to come down from the hill-tops and live in the valley.

776 778 The god itself, which is supposed to be an emanation of the Supreme Being, does not, as far as I could discover, possess any shrine beyond a natural temple in the form of a large rock cavern, where the service about to be described was held, and a rock altar, that may or may not have been natural, in front of a second cavity in the rock not very far from the first cave, the entrance to which was hung with filthy old rags. The altar was so smothered in fowls' feathers, which also lay more than ankle deep on the ground, that I could not be certain of its composition.

796 788 On the morning of the ceremony I reached the rocks below the first cave about 8 a.m. and found I was the first arrival. The Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan*' had not yet appeared. From then onwards, [484] until about 9 a.m., groups of pilgrims began to arrive. To my wonder and astonishment I saw well-dressed Africans, men and women who I later discovered, had motored hundreds of miles from Kumasi, Kwahu, and Mampon. Among these were several of my Ashanti friends of old days, and never shall I forget the look of amazement on their faces at meeting me again in such a place. About 9 a.m. the Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan*' arrived. The former was a really magnificent-looking man, standing well over six feet and very finely [777] proportioned. He was covered in amulets and fetishes, as was the *Ten'dan*' (see Figs. 73 and 74).

796 I told them (as we had indeed already arranged) that I would like to attend the ceremony and register my wish and make my vows. They asked permission to go forward and make preparation, and soon afterwards I heard the rhythmic clapping of hands, which was faintly audible to us below. All the pilgrims now began to undress. The Coast women disrobed and put on shorts; hats, shoes, white pith helmets, and clothes were piled up and scattered over the boulders (see Fig. 75). We were now called to come forward, and climbed up the rocks until we came to the low entrance of the cave (see Fig. 76). This we were asked to enter backwards. Soon the cave was packed so full that many were sitting on their companions' legs and laps. I know I had a person on each knee. Some one asked me to give my name and what I wanted. I asked Aboya, who was with me, to state the nature of my work; how I was trying to record their ancient customs, that the best of them

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

might be retained, and that I would like a blessing on this task. I also said I hoped some day to fly over this spot, and I ended with the promise of a cow if these requests were granted.

I was, about this time, planning a solo flight from England to the Gold Coast. On 12 January, just eight months later, almost at the same hour, I was to look down from a height of 6,000 ft. through the harmattan haze on these same hills, just an hour before reaching Tamale, my journey's end.

To return to the cave. The *Ten'dan'*, after Aboya had finished what I asked him to say, spoke as follows:

'M'ba n bol i, bol i ba, ko o bol Takuru-nab ka ba tana zin Tɔŋ-nab nendan la ba dee Silmiga soma-soma; ko o kyen te tum o tuma sea ko o bort. O yi nye a zaag' on te i naf'. Fo me na mal o, ka dee i nafon. I yi mal o i na dee' i naf. Kye ku o yur' du gar' o tab zaa; kye ka naam, pahe naam. Tulg' de gbwaa o dan seree; ko o kyen len siliga, i to dee' i naf'; layem mora ban kab dol o a o bisi, ka bam n'deyir tir to.'

Translation: 'My father, I call your father that he may call Takuru-nab,[1] that they may come and sit before Tɔŋ-naba's face and receive the white man favourably; permit him to work at the work which he wishes to do. He says that if he sees all, he will give you a cow. Permit his name to mount up more than all his neighbours and let Chieftainship be added to Chieftainship. Do not allow fever to catch him any day; let him go and return (like) a hawk, that you may be able to receive your cow. Keep his children who will follow him, that they may receive and give us.'

At the end of this speech—which is rather amusing from our point of view for the prominence given to the matter of the cow—a long wail came from somewhere in the back of the cave. Every one then clapped their hands with a kind of masonic rhythm for the space of at least a minute.

Other pilgrims now rose one at a time, and the cave echoed to the old familiar Ashanti tongue. Their petitions were then translated into Talene, in which language they were finally recited by the *Ten'dan'*. At the end of each petition the pilgrim was asked his or her name and this was passed on, and at the termination of each request hands were clapped as before. This was all; the statement, the repetition in Talene to the god, a wail, the clapping of hands, silence, a shuffling or a squelch of a sweaty naked body, as the next pilgrim squirmed to his feet to tell of his troubles.

[1] Possibly *Ta-kora*, see *Ashanti*, Chapter XIX.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

796
782

The following are a selection of these petitions; in my notebook; they are jotted down in the vernacular (Ashanti) of which the following are literal translations:

'I was at my town of Mampon, and I heard about grandfather (*nana*, here a term of respect), so I came to lean upon him, that he might give me health, which I once had. I keep a store and I have two motor-cars. From that store I derive no profit whatever. As for my two motor-cars, when I ply them for hire and people enter them, I only incur debts and there is no profit in them. Because of that, and because I have heard of grandfather, I have come to ask him if he will show me the way to make profit. Again, I have four wives and they have either not borne children, or, if they have, the children die. Therefore help me, and permit my wives to bear children, and give my relations health and long life.'

Another: 'As for me, I come from Kwawu (in the Colony). Now the work which we do to-day is farming, but when I do it I get no profit. When I cultivate cocoa, and the trees grow, they die, or when the trees bear pods, they rot. I also have a store, but I get no profit from that; then I heard about *nana* and I came to lean upon him, that he may give me and all my relations life, my nephews and my "brothers" life, and that I may obtain much profit.'

Another: 'I am a clerk, who pays his debts, as my neighbours pay me what they owe me, yet I have not a copper (*capre*). I have four wives, yet none of them has a child; when one bears an infant, it dies. I have heard of *nana* and I have come to take myself and put myself in his hands that he may help me and let me get much money.'

Another: 'I come from a street in Kwawu. I have heard about *nana*. The work which men do these days is farming. I have a plantation, but I get nothing out of it; when the crops ripen, beasts (i.e. insects) eat them, and the cocoa-trees die. Whatever I do, I get in debt; therefore I have come to lean upon you, that you may help me and give me profit.'

A Woman's Prayer: 'I have come from a street in Kwawu, and I have heard of *nana*, and I have brought myself to lean on you, that you may give me life. I was in Kumase and I bore a child and it died, so I give myself to you, in order that if any one has caused this you may kill him, and guard me and let me bear another. If I do, I will repay you.'

Another: 'I have come from Mampon. I have heard about this god. I have a sickness in my belly; it never ceases; it cries out *ko! ko!*

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11

Look to my sickness that it may cease. If any one is doing this to me, catch him for me, or kill him and let me get health and strength.'

Another: 'I was in my town when I heard of this god, that he is strong, so I came to lean on him that he may help me. I am a person who drinks gin always and I am become a drunkard. Help me to stop drinking. Again, whatever work I do, I get in debt. If some one is doing all this to me, let *nana* catch him or kill him for me.'

When I state that these supplicants were educated men and women, some of whom owned large businesses, well-furnished European houses, and not a few of them their own cars, in which they had come hundreds of miles to visit this pagan god, the power and influence of the old beliefs may readily be imagined. I need not multiply examples. All the petitions were based on the same formula—the god was *nana*, the supplicants had come to lean upon him (*dan nebo*). They were promised nothing. If their prayers were answered, they would bring back an offering. Nearly every one asked for 'money' or 'profit'.

When the service was ended, we all backed out again into the sunlight and were led, complete silence being enjoined upon us, to the entrance of the second cave. Here the offerings were sacrificed over a mound so smothered in congealed blood and feathers as to hide its surface completely.

The *Ten'dan'* lifted up a round stone and tapped it against this altar. Each person then handed him the offering he or she had brought. Its throat was cut, the blood flowed on the altar, and the sacrifice was cast down. My sheep was sacrificed last of all. The photograph, Fig. 77, shows the old *Ten'dan'* about to cut its throat. All this was carried out in complete silence. We all then returned to where every one had undressed, and each person was smeared with a line of red clay on the side of each cheek, between the breasts, on each forearm, on the legs and back. This ended the ceremony.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

184 764 undercurrent of passion and tension. When a *dee* parade reaches the border between adjacent Namoo and Talis settlements, there is a danger of a hostile demonstration from the other side and the older men have [574] to be very watchful. In 1936 a Tongo *dee* parade was attacked by a group of Gbeog men who were simply swept off their feet by the sight and sound of the armed mob of their traditional enemies.

184 One is constantly reminded of the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos in less dramatic ways, too, for they are for ever contrasting themselves. The Namoos scoff in private at the esoteric ritual practices of the Talis, the non-Namoos everywhere vaunt their superiority, as the true 'owners of the land', to the immigrant Namoos. And, at the same time, the politico-ritual leaders of each group keep jealous watch on those of the other to see that their mutual bonds of politico-ritual collaboration [123] are maintained. The most serious obstruction I had to overcome in my field work was the passive resistance of the Talis inspired by my initial association with the Tongo Namoos.

This cleavage comes to the fore in different ways in different parts of Taleland. It is most precisely worked out in the Tongo district, where it dominates the politico-ritual relations of group to group. It is justifiable, moreover, to see a connexion between this and the fact that the Tong Hills, the most conspicuous landmark in the country, are universally accepted as the centre of the 'real Talis'. Though many Hill Talis clans claim to be of immigrant descent, they are socially alined with the alleged aboriginal clans. This in itself would suggest that the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos is not an artifact of history but the expression of a deep-lying principle of social organization in Tale society.

184 796 Furthermore, it is evident that the natives visualize their society as composed of three major regions, the region of the 'real Talis', the region of Tongo and the clans adjacent to it, and the region of the clans adjacent to the Namnam. These regions are not, however, precisely defined socio-geographic territories. They overlap one another and merge into one another. They also overlap adjacent regions of non-Tale clans; but the Tallensi lay no stress on this, for they are differentiated by the index of the Great Festivals. Each region has its particular form of Harvest Festival, but the Great Festivals of the Tallensi constitute a single cycle. The festivals specific to the different regions follow a fixed sequence in relation to one another, and this is a matter of ritual obligation, not merely of convenience. Thus the very index which in certain perspectives and certain situations serves to differentiate the three regions of Tale society, in other perspectives and other situations serves to demonstrate their interdependence and overlapping.

184 796 648 In addition, the cycle of Great Festivals embraces clans of Goris, Namnam, and Mamprusi on the frontiers of Taleland. These clans take the cue for the date of their particular Harvest Festivals from neighbouring Tale clans, and in turn pass on the signal to other non-Tale clans, though they themselves fall outside the normal frame of social reference of the 'real Talis', upon whom the cycle pivots. The best example of this is Nuŋ, a tiny settlement between Biuŋ and the White Volta. Politically and ritually the people of Nuŋ are Mamprusi. The head of the settlement

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

holds an important ritual office connected with the paramount chiefship of Mampurugu. But, as befits their interstitial socio-geographic position between the Mamprusi and the Tallensi, their Harvest Festival belongs to the Tale cycle and is, in fact, the last of one of the series constituting the cycle.

The differentiation of Taleland into lesser regions follows the same general principle as the differentiation of the Mole-Dagbane-speaking peoples into 'tribes'. A region is a socio-geographic segment of the society in which the communities that constitute it have a greater degree of interdependence and cohesion with one another than any of them have with other neighbouring communities. And this interdependence and cohesion is a function of the common interests symbolized in the Great Festivals. The regions overlap in so far as the communities belonging to one region have other interests in common with and other loyalties towards communities belonging to a neighbouring region.

This is the façade of Tale society. Behind it lie the bricks and mortar of the social structure. It is at that level of Tale social life that we must look for the foundations of the principles of social organization whose superficial action we have met with in this chapter.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

always the privilege of another functionary of the same congregation, or of a neighbouring congregation. The effect of this is to maintain particularly close bonds of interdependence and mutual amity between pairs of clans or maximal lineages and thus to strengthen the force of ritual collaboration as a sanction of mutual loyalty and cohesion. If the *Bɔyar* or *Tɛŋ* congregation is coterminous with a clan (as at Zubiuŋ), the relationship tends to be mutual or circular—A installs B and B installs A, or A installs B and B installs C who in turn installs A. The arrangement is then plausibly subsumed under the relations of clanship. In a congregation of unrelated maximal lineages the relationship may be mutual between some pairs of lineages and circular between other sets of lineages, which will often include lineages belonging to mutually installing pairs. Thus, A installs B and B installs A; but A also installs C, C installs D, and D installs E.

It often happens, also, that the ritual functionary representing a maximal lineage belonging to one *Bɔyar* or *Tɛŋ* congregation is installed by a ritual functionary representing a maximal lineage of a neighbouring congregation. The two lineages may be connected by clanship ties and the arrangement explained by invoking these. Or they may be adjacent to each other; or they may belong to the same *Bɔyar* congregation but different *Tɛŋ* congregations (or vice versa), so that it is only with respect to one context that the parties can be said to belong to different ritual groupings.

In every case it comes to this: that maximal lineages bound to each other by one set of ritual ties, with respect to one focus of ritual cohesion, are divided from each other, and bound to maximal lineages of other congregations constituted with reference to the same category of ritual relations, by another set of ritual ties. Thus the division between adjacent *Bɔyar* congregations (or *Tɛŋ* congregations), mutually exclusive by reference to the particular *Bɔyar* or *Tɛŋ* at which each worships, is bridged by the ritual interdependence, in terms of another ritual category, of some of their respective member lineages. And the system extends chainwise throughout all the clans of the Hill Talis.

We have here a more elaborate reproduction of the pattern of ritual relations that was observed to hold between Ba'ari and its neighbours. Indeed, the schematic formulation attempted above gives only an inkling of the labyrinthine intricacies of these ritual relations among the Hill Talis. In this pattern the cult of the External *Bɔyar* and the cult of the Earth have a very significant relationship, as we have previously indicated. It can be seen more explicitly than at Zubiuŋ or Ba'ari that they form polar principles in the total system of public ritual values and relations.

This appears quite clearly in the doctrines and ritual practices of the Hill Talis. *Bɔyar* and *Tɛŋ* are always coupled together in ritual activities. Together they exercise a mystical rule over the life and health, the fertility and prosperity of man. The differences in the way in which they are concerned with these fundamentals of human existence are like a complementary division of labour. This is well shown in the annual cycle of the Great Festivals. Thus *Gɔlib*, the Sowing Festival just before the first rains, is centred on the Earth cult. It dramatizes man's dependence on the fertility of the soil and on the rain for his livelihood, and the dependence

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

182 of these, in turn, on the mystical power of the Earth. Its chief theme,
794 through all the rites and ceremonies of the festival, is a plea for the
796 beneficence of the Earth in the approaching farming season. Though the chief actors are the Hill Talis, it is a festival in which all the Tallensi take part, directly or through representative ritual functionaries, since they are all under the mystical jurisdiction of the Earth; and it seeks to mobilize the goodwill of the Earth for the prosperity and fertility of all the people of the country.

At the other end of the agricultural season, when the harvest has been gathered, comes the complementary Harvest Festival of *Bɔyaraam*, as it is called by the Hill Talis. As the name suggests, this festival is centred on the External *Bɔyar* and is dominated by the cult of the ancestors. It is celebrated independently by each *Bɔyar* congregation, not in common, as the *Gɔlib* is. The Namoos, and the other Talis, also have their Harvest Festivals at about the same time; and all have the same theme. They are dramatizations of man's gratitude for the crops that the soil, under man's labouring hand, has yielded, for the children that have been born, and for the welfare that has been granted to men by the Earth and the ancestors. Through all the rites and ceremonies runs the reiterated prayer that the ancestors and the Earth may unite to grant long life to men so that they may enjoy these and further blessings of the same kind.

The natives sum up the relationship between *Bɔyar* and *Tɛŋ* in the following formula. The *Bɔyar*, they say, rests on the Earth and cannot act without it; but the Earth would be derelict without men, the children of the ancestors whose spiritual abode is the *Bɔyar*. The sacredness of the Earth is due to the fact that men live on its surface, tend it, and worship it.

Both the Earth cult and the *Bɔyar* cult have a parochial aspect and a universal aspect. There are the particular *Bɔyar* and Earth shrines, each exclusively worshipped by its own defined congregation and bearing its own name; and there are the universal cults of which these are the local embodiments. This is plain both in native comment and in the forms of rites and ceremonies. The natives say that all Talis *Bɔya* (including not only those of the Hill Talis but those of Zubiŋ and other Talis of the Plain as well) are 'one and the same thing'.

782 So when a sacrifice is offered at a particular *Bɔyar*, the officiant in his
794 invocation calls upon all the Talis *Bɔya*, enumerating them by name, to
[552] 'gather together and accept this sacrifice'. Similarly, while every *Bɔyar* has its own name—Bona'ab, Wannii, Samoo, and so forth—they also have the generic name of 'Tɔŋna'ab.[1] The *Bɔya* of all the Talis clans are

[1] Some of these names have obvious meanings, others have none, or have lost all semblance of meaningful forms. Bona'ab means 'Chief of Things', i.e. Great Benefactor; Samoo means 'the (uncultivated) bush at Soog', presumably because in the distant past the shrine was surrounded by uncultivated bush; Wannii can only be given a meaning by twisting the first syllable into a phonetically analogous meaningful form. Tɔŋna'ab breaks up into the two syllables *tɛŋ* (from which Tongo takes its name) which is cognate with *tɛŋ*, the Earth (cf. *tɛŋgban*, earth shrine, lit. surface of the Earth) and *na'ab*, chief. It means, therefore, Chief of the Earth, or in other words, Lord of the Country. And to the Hill Talis their *Bɔyar* cult *is* the most important religious phenomenon in the world.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

of any of the Hill Talis clans. Each of the two maximal lineages that constitute Kpata'ar, Kpata'arna'ab yiri and Nakyeet yiri, has its own private lineage *bɔyar*. Though bound by all the reciprocal duties and privileges that make them the closest clan *sunzɔp* of each other, the genealogical cleavage between them is somewhat more strongly emphasized than it is between the constituent maximal lineages of Zubiun, for example. The head of Kpata'arna'ab yiri is the head of the clan, and *eo ipso* the senior ritual functionary and principal custodian of the Bona'ab *Bɔyar*. The head of Nakyeet yiri has a complementary role in relation to him in political, ritual, and jural affairs that concern the whole clan.

The politico-ritual office held by the head of Kpata'arna'ab yiri is symbolized in a shrine that is ancillary to the External *Bɔyar*. It is in the sole custody of Kpata'arna'ab yiri. But when sacrifice is offered at it on prescribed occasions Nakyeet yiri must also be represented; and in addition Dakuor yiri, the component maximal lineage of Bunkiuk with which Kpata'arna'ab yiri has ties of clanship, must be represented and share in the sacrament. Thus, both Nakyeet yiri and Dakuor yiri, though they themselves have no ties of clanship, take part in a common sacrifice with Kpata'arna'ab yiri because of their clanship ties with the latter. In this case the central region of the field of clanship of Kpata'arna'ab yiri becomes actualized in a sacrament that symbolizes the exclusive rights to a particular politico-ritual office held by that maximal lineage.

But what about the worship of the External *Bɔyar*, Bona'ab? As its senior custodians, the men of Kpata'arna'ab yiri can sacrifice there alone or accompanied by Nakyeet yiri, if they desire the intercession of the *Bɔyar* in matters that concern them only. When the Great Festivals come round, however, it is obligatory for the whole congregation of the *Bɔyar* to join together in the performance of the ceremonies. The other communicants, beside the two segments of Kpata'ar, are Gundaat, Samiit and two of its linked lineages, together counting as a single unit, and Sakpee II.

The cult of the *Bɔyar* Bona'ab is the central force uniting this group of maximal lineages. It is, we must emphasize, not a permanent bond of union that operates at all times and under all conditions, but a synthesis that emerges chiefly in the context of the Great Festivals. During the festivals their interdependence in the cult of the *Bɔyar* imposes mutual amity and solidarity on this group of maximal lineages. At other times this is not always an effective sanction of amity and goodwill. For these ties of ritual collaboration are not homogeneous. Underneath them run other ties which reinforce them in the context of the *Bɔyar* cult but might act against them outside of this context. There are first the ties of clanship linking Kpata'arna'ab yiri with Nakyeet yiri, Nakyeet yiri with Sakpee, Sakpee with Gundaat, in a chain, as it were. Then there are the ties of clanship-by-courtesy which link all these lineages with one another. Samiit and Sakpee have bonds of local contiguity because they 'sit together on the same land' under the ritual jurisdiction of the Sakpee tendaana. Gundaat and Samiit are *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy, bound by a covenant of mutual amity which they trace back to the alleged kinship ties of their mythological founding ancestors. Gundaat and Kpata'ar

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

182 have not only bonds of local contiguity, but an additional tie of ritual
x618 interdependence in that their heads install each other in their respective
769 ritual offices. Similarly, Sakpee and Samiit have an added ritual tie in that their heads each have a special role in the ceremonial installation of the other. Finally, the head of Samiit exercises a special politico-ritual function in relation to the head of Kpata'ar. It is his task, in times of great social emergency, formally to adjure the head of Kpata'ar to initiate the ritual procedures necessary to avert disaster.

Thus, underneath the general collaboration of the communicants of Bona'ab with one another in the *Bɔyar* cult, and interweaving with it, spread these particular, divergent ties between different pairs of maximal lineages. In many situations these subordinate ties hold fast where the superordinate ties of ritual collaboration between all the communicants are not strong enough to override the cleavages between them. It is a
[578] striking thing, for instance, that whereas Nakyeet yiri and Sakpee have tended to side with the Gɔlibdaana of Bunkiuk in the struggle for power that has been going on between him and the head of Kpata'ar during the last few years, Gundaat has stood staunchly by the latter. The general bond of ritual collaboration in the *Bɔyar* cult has not ensured the support of the whole Bona'ab congregation for Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm in this struggle, and even the specific ties of clanship between them and Nakyeet yidɛm have not been proof against the lure of the Gɔlibdaana's fleshpots.

It is characteristic of Tale society that the structure of a community, whether it be a permanent community or a temporary community such as emerges in the cult of the External *Bɔyar*, is directly mirrored in every situation and every institution in which this structure becomes manifest. To take a very simple example: when the congregation of Bona'ab assembles there for a sacrifice, the representatives of the different maximal lineages sit in a fixed order. Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm sit in the place of greatest honour, since they are the senior custodians, and the other lineages are distributed as shown in the diagram opposite. It will be seen that this diagram gives a picture also of the structural relations between the different lineages, and incidentally of their local relations to one another. It shows in a nutshell how local, structural, and politico-ritual relations are interlocked with one another and converge to create and maintain interclan co-operation and solidarity. The diagram shows also how the ritual roles in any of the rites and ceremonies connected with the worship at the *Bɔyar* are distributed amongst the different maximal lineages.

182 Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm are the senior custodians also of the supreme
x618 Earth shrine of Tɛnzugu, Doo; but in the cult of Doo they have a com-
794 pletely different set of ritual collaborators from those associated with
●796 them in the cult of the External *Bɔyar*. They have a different field of ritual relations counterpoised to that of which the External *Bɔyar* is the focus. The units associated with Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm in the cult of Doo are Degal (linked by clanship ties to them, but having its own External *Bɔyar*), Gɔlibdaan yidɛm of Bunkiuk (who have no clanship ties with Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm, and are the senior custodians of a different External

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

578 On the other hand, there are dissidents in the Gəlibdaana's camp who rationalize their opposition to him and find a rallying motive for it in the traditional loyalty which they owe to Kpata'ar in virtue of their reciprocal ties of ritual collaboration.

182 For Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm, Degal, Bunkiuk, Gəlibdaan yidɛm, and Tamboog, their common allegiance to Doo counteracts their divergent loyalties to their respective *Bɔyar* congregations. Doo, however, does more than merely bind these four units to one another. It is the focus of integration of the four *Bɔyar* communities they represent; and it is the point of confluence of the distinctive fields of clanship and of local ties of these four units. The ritual of the Gəlib Festival when closely analysed shows that Doo is the palladium of all the Talis, the centre about which the equilibrium of all their corporate relations with one another swings.

Thus, to be specific, Tamboog is regarded as representing Wakii, and therefore, in virtue of the latter's ties with Gbizug, Zubiuŋ, and Ba'ari, these clans as well. Tamboog also represents Wɔyar and the other members of its *Bɔyar* congregation. Kpata'ar represents the other units constituting its *Bɔyar* congregation, and through them Soog and Gbeog. Degal represents the Talis on the east slope of the hills and the adjacent plain. Bunkiuk represents its *Bɔyar* congregation, which includes segments of Zandoya, Yinduuri, Sii, and Gorogo. And intersecting these groupings run the numerous ties of clanship, joking partnership, clanship-by-courtesy, privileged coercion, and local contiguity, that link up particular members of different groups.

We have considered only the two major ritual institutions through the medium of which the clans of the Talis are articulated into interdependent sets, and these again serially interlocked in a single system. There are also a number of other religious institutions ancillary to the cults of the *Bɔyar* and the *Tɛŋ* in which more localized forms of ritual collaboration unite maximal lineages and clans, not otherwise ritually related, on certain occasions. It would be tedious to deal with them at length. It is enough to say that their effect is to interweave more closely the numerous threads which form the amazing web of politico-ritual relations among the Talis. They make the system complete to its last detail.

182 796 The all-embracing range of this web of politico-ritual relations comes out most plainly in the Great Festivals. The cycle requires the ritual co-operation not only of all the Talis but of the Namoos as well. The distribution of ritual roles and responsibilities amongst the clans is such that every corporate unit has a specific role associated with a particular phase of the cycle and with particular ritual emblems. Thus the cycle of the Great Festivals unites all the Tallensi in the performance of one connected series of ritual acts, and this is a bond of profound importance for all their social relations with one another.

The Great Festivals are dramatizations on the plane of ritual symbolism of the most vital and universal values of the Tallensi. They express the idea that the common good of all the Tallensi is founded on the inescapable interdependence of their elaborately differentiated clans and lineages. This common good, the ritual of the Great Festivals might be interpreted

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

to declare, is not a matter of expediency or calculation but the essence of life for the individual and the community. It is a sacred necessity; and men must be in harmony amongst themselves and with the mystical powers that control their lives if they desire to gain the beneficence of these powers for this end. The ritual, the sacrifices, and the prayers to the ancestors and to the Earth, pleading for the fruitfulness of the land, of women, and of the flocks and herds, for health, prosperity, and peace, and offering thanks at the end of the agricultural year for these boons, eloquently express the Tale conception of the common good. In the rites of the Great Festivals the widest community that has social relevance for any Talaŋ emerges, not as a hard-and-fast political unit, but as a temporary synthesis of all the forces of social integration operative in Tale society. This is an expression of the fact that, though they have no centralized government, the Tallensi do form a single body politic, albeit one without defined territorial boundaries. This unit is built up on the widely ramifying structural ties which knit the independent corporate units together. But its ultimate basis is a body of moral and jural norms and values accepted as binding by all Tallensi, and defended from the disruptive action of conflicting sectional interests by the most solemn ritual sanctions of Tale religion. The function of ritual collaboration between clans and lineages is to maintain the unchallengeable validity of these norms and values; for upon their observance the attainment of the common good ultimately depends.[1]

Native Thought and the Realities of Social Structure

We have digressed to survey the scope and function of ritual collaboration among the Talis in order to see what truth there is in the maxim that 'those who sacrifice together do not intermarry'. As a generalization it is obviously inaccurate; but it is valid for particular instances of linkage by clanship ties, though only as an *a posteriori* inference.

Tale elders do not fall into this error of deduction through lack of intelligence or ignorance of their social organization. Among the Tallensi, as among most primitive peoples, what appears to us to be defective logic usually proves to be a product of the social organization as it is apprehended by native thought. When an individual Talaŋ applies the maxim we have criticized to his own particular field of social relations—not to that of his lineage or clan—it is perfectly apposite. For an individual in his personal capacity can only sacrifice together with other individuals if they are his kinsfolk or clansfolk; and this implies automatically that he cannot marry their daughters or sisters.

In the social philosophy of the Tallensi, as will be shown in the next volume of this study, kinship is the model of all social ties between individuals and groups. The ties of clanship, ritual collaboration, or local contiguity are visualized as so many different extensions and transformations of the fundamental patterns of kinship. For the individual this is accurate to a very large extent. There is a kinship element in all his social

[1] This aspect of Tale political organization and its wider sociological implications are discussed in *African Political Systems*, cit. supra.

2: Fortes . . E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

in sacrifices to their lineage ancestors. When an important sacrifice is due to be made to a lineage *bɔyar*, the married *pɔyayabəlis* of the lineage who live near enough to be able to attend, and especially the senior *pɔyayabələg*, must be informed. Those who can, will attend the rite, and a prescribed portion (*tɔrəg*) of the animal sacrificed is the due of the *pɔyayabəlis*. This portion, consisting of the 'waist' (*sie*), i.e. part of the vertebral column and some of the ribs, together with prescribed bits of various internal organs and the intestines, is divided among the *pɔyayabəlis*, both married and unmarried, who are present. The allocation of a prescribed portion of a sacrificial animal to any group or individual is the most significant indication, in Tale culture, that that group or individual has a recognized formal status in the social structure.

An outstanding event in the life of a lineage is the inheritance (*vaagər*), that is, the formal assumption of the custody, of a lineage *bɔyar* by a new lineage head. Being old men generally, lineage heads seldom survive succession to this status for many years. Thus, the inheritance of a lineage *bɔyar* is an event of fairly frequent recurrence at periods varying from five to ten years. It is an occasion on which the integration of the lineage is at its maximum. Every member, male and female, who can do so makes an effort to attend. Those who are heads of families contribute fowls and flour to be added to the sacrifices on their behalf. All cognates by descent through women of the lineage who live near enough are invited, and those who are heads of families also bring contributions for the sacrifice. In short, the occasion is a sacrament in which all the descendants of the lineage ancestors, through both men and women, participate, and it is regarded as a particularly auspicious sacrament.

One of the first rites in the inheritance of a lineage *bɔyar* is the transfer of the shrine from the homestead of its late custodian to that of his successor. This rite is carried out by one male member of the lineage, almost invariably a member of the segment whose head has become head of the lineage, and one *pɔyayabələg* of the lineage, both selected by divination. Later, when many fowls brought by those present are sacrificed to the *bɔyar* to mark its transfer to a new lineage head, this pair are the first of the lineage members to present their offerings. Thus is symbolized the equality of status of men and women members of the lineage before the *bɔyar*, and the rights of women members and their descendants to the spiritual protection of the lineage ancestors.

As we have seen in our consideration of attached lineages, and as we shall learn more fully when we examine the relations of maternal uncle and sororal nephew,[1] there are circumstances in which descent through a woman is partially assimilated to the true agnatic line. To give only one example here, a sororal nephew (*ahəŋ*) of any degree whatsoever, that is, any member of another clan who has a cognatic link with the clan in question through an ancestress however remote, is formally equated with the sons of the clan in the matter of leviratic rights. An *ahəŋ* has the right to seek the hand of a widow of his maternal uncle's clan (*ahəb yiri*) on the same terms as a true member of that clan. He is, so to speak, exercising the right, corollary to the obligation of clan exogamy, that

[1] In *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

weather causes anxiety about the crops; for famine is the greatest social calamity they can imagine and is a very real menace. I have heard people speak of the last great famine that swept the country, some forty years ago, with a poignancy that made one realize how deeply dread of famine is stamped into the native's outlook on life. 'It is our black man's thing this (*ti gbansablog yɛl n-a-de*)', they say, 'from the days of our fathers and forefathers'—or, as we might put it, it is a law of nature for the black man. 'The white man has saved us. If there is hunger now we can buy grain from Mampurugu or Kusaa.' Sombrely they describe how in times of famine people ate grass and weeds fit only for animals, and died on the footpaths. Men deserted wife and child to seek sustenance among distant relatives who had a little food. They took their own children to sell into slavery among the Mamprusi for food. The social order broke down completely.

Sufficient crops of the staple cereals mean survival, good crops mean joy to the Tallensi. They show it in the Harvest Festival that marks the end of the farming year. If the harvest is poor, they say, people attend the dances perfunctorily and dance without enthusiasm. But in a good year, as I saw in 1936, no one can be held back from the dances. Young mothers steal out to them with their babes in their arms, sedate elders fling themselves into the rout with the zest and energy of striplings. There is a general feeling of elation. 'Our bodies are full of strength (*ti nɛŋ kpɛŋŋa*)', is how the natives describe it.

A successful farming year not only provides for the satisfaction of the fundamental physical needs of existence; it gives security to the social order. There is ample evidence of this in the busy and cheerful atmosphere of the market-places, and, more significantly, in the spate of ceremonial activities that follows on a satisfactory harvest; for all Tale ceremonial activities express and fortify relationships of amity and interdependence. For the individual the physical well-being of himself and his dependants—sufficiency of food, good health, and the increase of offspring—is a sign that all is well with the social order. The ritual symbols in which the forces that shape Tale social organization and keep it on a steady course are objectified and made emotionally tangible go back to this fact of native experience. The stereotyped formula with which a prayer offered at any shrine is usually concluded epitomizes this: 'Grant that fields be farmed (fruitfully), that live-stock breed, that offspring be born, that (undisturbed) sleep be slept (*Kye ka kuo kɔ, ka guul guul, ka dɔŋam dɔŋa, ka guom gbis*).'

Productive Efficiency and the Bounds set by Nature

Now what does the achievement of sufficiency of food and general physical well-being depend upon? It is quite clear, from the way the natives carry on their agricultural activities and the way they think and talk about them that, other things being equal, they consider skill and industry to be the main factors of efficiency. But variations in efficiency between a *pukpaa*, a slothful farmer, and a proper *kpa'at*, an industrious hoe-man, mean only a difference in their respective standards of consumption. One has rather less food and other goods than the other.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

lineal kin of both parties. One of the best-remembered fights of this kind broke out between Gorogo and Wakii in the very year that the British appeared on the scene of Tale life. It occurred in circumstances that made it a mystical calamity which these two clans are still expiating.

On the day that marks the climax of the *Gɔlib* Festival, all the Talis and thousands of non-Talis from the rest of the country congregate on the summit of the Tong Hills for a great ritual dance. It is in the main a dance of the men of the Hill Talis clans. They come up and dance in clan contingents, wearing festive garb and carrying their weapons. The tumult is indescribable. The throngs of spectators, men, women, and children, milling backwards and forwards, the rhythmic thud of stamping feet, the harsh lilt of the choruses pulsating against the babel of the crowd, the shimmer of sweating bodies and gaudy attire, the ritual officers in their finest skins and black caps, the swift, snake-like convolutions of the dancers, all this makes a scene of thrilling excitement. The taut bodies and tense expression of the dancers show that they are keyed up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and as they dance in separate clan contingents, an intense feeling of clan unity and pride is created in each group.

Each clan contingent accompanies its dancing with choruses for which new verses on topical themes are made every year. And the point of most of these songs is the superiority of that particular clan to all other people. There is a strong feeling of rivalry between the various clan contingents, which grows keener and keener as the day advances. The old men say that careful watch must always be kept lest any of the young men start fighting. For though there is a ritual truce on all forms of strife throughout Taleland during *Gɔlib*, passions are easily inflamed during the dances.

These were the circumstances in which the fight between Gorogo and Wakii took place. The two contingents were dancing near each other. The Gorogo men sang, defiantly, '(We are like) the adder, woo! If others wish to, let them tread on its tail and see'. The Wakii contingent flung back '(We are) a beehive, woo! If others wish to, let them touch us and see'. The dancing became more furious and the two groups drew nearer and nearer each other. And then, suddenly, they clashed. In the mêlée several men were killed and many wounded before the tendaanas and men of other clans could separate them.

Bloodshed during *Gɔlib* is a dreadful sacrilege; bloodshed on Tenzugu on the day of the most important ceremonies and during the dancing is a religious enormity that cannot be compared to anything else in the Tale calendar of sins. The people of Gorogo and Wakii atoned for their sacrilege by the sacrifice of many cattle and sheep to the Earth, but they have not yet freed themselves of its consequences. The Earth still exacts the toll of death after death from the sons and grandsons of the original sinners. No reprisals were taken by either clan and their relations with each other were not affected by this fight.

Such fights could not develop into general wars because they took place between clans that are closely linked together by ties of clanship or ritual collaboration, or are connected through an intercalary unit that

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

ritual collaboration in a series of complementary relations the proper maintenance of which they believe to be indispensable for their common welfare. This is the basis of the ritual sanctions against instigating war and shedding blood and of the moral repugnance associated with them. A war temporarily upset the equilibrium of Tale society; it could not destroy it.

The social system of the Tallensi, in its widest extent, is held together by its religious superstructure. Its unity is none the less real because it appears only on the highest plane of common religious values known to the natives. As we have noted, the complementary politico-ritual offices of the chiefship, which is typically a Namoo office, and the tendaanaship, typically an office found amongst non-Namoos, constitute the focus of the institutions that maintain this unity; and the annual cycle of the Great Festivals are at once the chief sanction and the supreme expression of it. The coming of the white man has made very little difference to the way these institutions operate in relation to the fundamental structure of Tale society. They continue to be the crowning mechanism of equilibrium in Tale society, because its segmentary social structure has kept its traditional form and vitality. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that only a strong and universally accepted religious sanction could hold such a society together. In practice the equilibrium is achieved by the distribution of mutually complementary offices among the segments of the society, all of which are essential for the performance of definite ritual duties.

It is a significant index of the type of social system presented by the Tallensi that the widest range of social solidarity found among them is evoked by their Great Festivals. Great stress is laid on the ritually sanctioned truce to all fighting or discord between clans or maximal lineages during the Festivals. That is why marriages are forbidden during the *Gəlib* Festival. The Festival Cycle begins with the Harvest Festivals. These are celebrated by single clans or groups of linked maximal lineages independently of one another and serve to enhance the sense of clan and lineage solidarity. The climax is the *Gəlib* Festival, immediately before the rains. This gives ritual sanction and dramatic expression to the idea of the close-knit interdependence of all the Tallensi with one another. Its reiterated themes are the common interests of all the Tallensi—food, peace, and fecundity—which must be achieved if they are to survive, and the supreme common values—the cult of the ancestors and of the Earth—by which the whole of Tale social life is steered. The lesson of *Gəlib*, to the Tallensi, is that men cannot realize their greatest common interests or pursue their greatest common purposes in mutual enmity. *Gəlib* is the most powerful counterweight to war and to the tendency of each clan and maximal lineage to set its own corporate interests above the common interest of the whole society. It is noteworthy that the Great Festivals do not presuppose the suspension of the primary loyalties of the segments that make up Tale society. They represent a synthesis, for the time being, of these primary loyalties—a synthesis that is possible only by giving full scope to the feeling of clan and maximal lineage unity and singularity in each group. *Gəlib* emphasizes the mutual dependence of Namoos and Talis, but it does this by simultaneously enhancing the

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

796 182 feeling of politico-ritual difference between them. It is the same within each cluster. The elders inaugurate the Festival season with many sacrifices asking the ancestors and the Earth to prevent fighting from breaking out between the young men, in spite of the truce, and they [625] always depute a number of reliable young men to keep a good look-out during the dances lest unruly spirits stir up trouble. Thus the greater solidarity is built up on the lesser solidarities; and this principle applies throughout the social system.

221 The rhythm of Tale social life is contained within an annual cycle. It swings between two poles. For most of the year the sectional interests of lineage and clan dominate the pattern of collective life. But for one month the greater solidarity of the whole society prevails.

182 681 In relation to the mechanisms of unity and equilibrium Tale warfare appears as a negative sanction that reinforces their effects. It was the obverse of these mechanisms, the polar opposite of the idea of unity, arising out of the very same balance of social forces that makes that unity possible. Both in time and at a given time the equilibrium of Tale political life swung (and still swings) between two poles: on the one hand, the extraordinarily consistent and precise differentiation of social segments; on the other, the strong sense of unity created by the religious bonds of the society.

182 721 War or, more often, the threat of war was the most drastic means of bringing to a head and working off the frictions that inevitably arose from the action of the principle of social differentiation of corporate units; its effect, however, was to bring the opposite principle into action, and thus it served to strengthen the forces of social cohesion in the society at large.

Equilibrium and Solidarity within the Clan and Lineage

578 182 769 The pattern of solidarity we have been discussing applies at all levels of Tale social structure. Tensions similar to those we have discerned in the corporate relations between clans underlie corporate relations within clans and maximal lineages. Centrifugal tendencies and centripetal tendencies pull against one another. Conflicts within corporate units tend to follow the lines of lineage and local segmentation. They take the form of opposition between the solidarity of the segment and the wider solidarity of the lineage or clan. And the greater the relative autonomy of the segment, the deeper does the conflict tend to be. Hence conflicts in a composite clan tend to go deeper than conflicts in a genealogically unitary group such as a sub-clan of Mosuor biis. But, as in the social structure at large, the bonds of common interest, of mutual dependence in ritual and secular matters, and of local unity tend to prevail in the long run. However deep a breach may be, the dissidents never repudiate membership of the larger unit, for this would be tantamount to repudiating the ancestors. The ancestor cult is the supreme sanction of lineage and clan solidarity. Thus, at the best, conflicts are resolved by the eventual restoration of the *status quo ante*. At the worst, a new balance is struck between the centrifugal tendencies of lineage segmentation and the centripetal emphasis of the lineage structure as a whole backed by the ancestor cult. It is in this way that the structure of a lineage or clan is

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

764
292
411

(*a*) A mimic war parade at Ba'ari to inaugurate an elder's funeral.

796
535
292
291

(*b*) The widest politico-ritual community includes all the Tallensi. Part of the vast gathering of people from all over Taleland who come to take part in or watch the concluding ceremonies and dances of the Golib Festival. Note the dust cloud raised by the dancers.

[facing p. 256]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
SEPTEMBER: Harvesting ground-nuts and other subsidiary crops (roots and legumes) begun. Hoeing and weeding of bush farms continue. Women plucking green ocro and burning early millet stalks for *bakaa*.[2] Ritual festivals commence.	Those who harvested in July already reaching end of supplies of early millet, and resort to market and relatives.[1] Early millet very expensive in market. New ground-nuts (partly green), roots, and legumes supplementing diet largely.
OCTOBER: Harvesting of guinea-corn, rice, root crops, legumes, &c., general. *Neri* lifted. Women drying and storing vegetables.[3]	Food becoming plentiful. Price of grain falling rapidly in market. Cooked food cheap and plentiful in market. Marriage season begins.[4]
NOVEMBER: Harvesting late millet on bush farms, cow-peas and Bambara beans. Women burning valley grass for *ziem*. Children gleaning ground-nuts in play, not because of hunger. Height of ritual festival season.	All kinds of food plentiful. Harvest festivals, during which enormous quantities of food are consumed and circulated and many animals sacrificed, giving the maximum meat supply of the year, and root crops including purchased yams especially in demand for the festivals. All foodstuffs abundant and cheap at market.[5]

[1] Early millet appears in some quantity in the market only at this time; but the prices are about twice the average price of grain. There is some aversion to selling early millet on account of its function in the food cycle.

[2] *Bakaa* is not only used in cooking, but is also chewed with tobacco; hence, there is always a sale for it. The women collect the stalks from their husband's fields, but the *bakaa* is their own property.

[3] With the guinea-corn harvest comes the season of plenty. The tempo of social life and the configuration of social interests changes as completely as the landscape and the climatic conditions. On the economic side attention is at first directed to the selection of seed for storage and the drying and stacking of the grain in the granaries. Women dry and store all kinds of vegetables, especially the much-valued ocro.

[4] The ritual and social activities which dominate this season all require great expenditure of foodstuffs. Marriage involves a period of courtship, during which the suitor brings frequent gifts of guinea-fowls and tobacco to the girl's father and mother. A few days after marriage, the bridegroom sends a large basket of grain and several guinea-fowls to his mother-in-law, and finally has to supply several chickens and guinea-fowls for the legal formalities. The transfer of bride-wealth cattle does not affect the domestic economy materially. Altogether, a man is fortunate if his expenditure is not more than 15 to 20 birds, a block of tobacco (costing 1*s.* or more), a couple of baskets of grain, and a few shillings in money. The girl's family gains correspondingly.

[5] The Harvest and New Year Festivals are celebrated in November. Fowls,

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
DECEMBER: Agricultural work over.	Height of ritual season: funeral ceremonies, children's dedication ceremonies, many marriages; all involving consumption of live stock and grain, in sacrifices, as cooked food, and beer.[1]
JANUARY: Period of secondary activities such as housebuilding, cut-	Grain rationing again begins. Grain and other foodstuffs, including im-

guinea-fowls, sheep, goats, and dogs are slaughtered in profusion as sacrifices to ancestral and magical shrines. Beer (*daam*) made of malted grain is boiled, though in small quantities; much food is cooked to receive kinsfolk who call upon and greet each other. Recently married men send baskets of sweet potatoes, frafra potatoes, and yams to greet their parents-in-law. The Festivals last only a few days, but the tubers and animals are consumed over a period of some weeks.

[1] In this period, too, are celebrated all those clan and family religious ceremonies in which animal sacrifices and cooked food and beer play a great part. Indeed, these rites are often postponed for several years until a sufficiently good harvest enables enough supplies to be accumulated. We have seen a cow, a donkey, about 15 sheep and goats, and a large number of fowls and guinea-fowls slaughtered at the funeral ceremonies for a very venerable elder. We were assured by his sons, who were responsible for these ceremonies, that they had used up the whole of a large supply of guinea-corn in the preparation of ritual beer and food and in providing hospitality for throngs of guests. At such a funeral the deceased's cognatic and affinal kin bring obligatory food-contributions of cooked porridge, sheep, goats, and birds. So great were these contributions at one funeral that two or three basketfuls of porridge had to be thrown away as it turned sour. Funerals are extreme cases of the lavish utilization of food at this time of the year; and only three or four big funerals take place in any settlement in one season. Most funerals require a much smaller expenditure of live stock and grain than that made at an elder's funeral.

This is not the place to discuss the types of ritual and ceremonial situations in which 'things' (*bon*)—the Tale concept which covers every type of property—are consumed. In a good season there will be a tremendous spate of them; in a poor season only urgent rites will be performed. A word, however, must be said about beer, the most important ritual substance apart from the animals and flour used in sacrifices. Beer is cooked (*doŋ-*) by women, malted grain (*kpeŋa*) of guinea-corn or millet being issued to them by the man at whose request it is made. In the average compound beer is never cooked except for ritual purposes which may be twice or thrice a year. Chiefs and headmen, who always have a surplus of grain often, and elders occasionally keep a supply of beer on hand for guests. Tale women never make beer for sale in the markets; indeed, any man would be horrified at the suggestion that his hard-won grain should be used in this way. The Tallensi are a sober people on the whole.

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

by dry stretches of sand remains. The river during the rains is simply known as *mɔyar*, "river"; but each pool has a name extended to the corresponding division of the river banks on both sides.

The end of the dry season and the commencement of the agricultural season receives social affirmation in a great ritual festival the *Gɔlib*, celebrated by one group of Tallensi clans. The series of rites and ceremonies includes a communal and ritual fishing of a pool *Gɔlimbiuŋ*, dedicated to *Gɔlib* (not in the Volta). The fishing itself is a ritual performance in which the size of the catch counts for very little. But this inaugurates the season of the utilitarian fishing expeditions, none of which may precede the fishing of *Gɔlimbiuŋ*. The magical intention of *Gɔlib* is to ensure the fertility of crops, women, and livestock, success in all food-getting enterprises, security from danger, disease and death. Fishing is frequently mentioned in the exhortations addressed to the ancestor spirits during the *Gɔlib* rites. The *Gɔlib*, however, is more in the nature of a general blessing than of specifically efficacious magic.

Some ten to fourteen days after the close of *Gɔlib* the first of the communal fishing expeditions takes place. Every owner decides for himself the day on which he wishes to fish his pool. Thus it often happens that two or more fishing expeditions to different parts of the Volta occur on the same day, During the month I recorded the occurrence of ten expeditions; but as many more certainly escaped my notice. I accompanied three of these expeditions.

An impending fishing expedition is announced through the two main channels customary for the publication of such events. A day or two in advance, after darkness falls, the owner causes it to be cried (*tuol*) from the house-tops of his settlement. The news subsequently spreads throughout the country, from mouth to mouth. But alternatively or in addition, he employs an even more effective means of publicity, the market. Members of his family and neighbours are sent on market day to inform the friends and acquaintances they meet. Soon it is known to every person in the market, to which people throng from every quarter of the Tallensi and neighbouring tribal areas.

A message may also be sent to the *Tɔŋraana*, the chief of highest rank in the Tallensi country; but this is an act of deference not a political obligation, and is observed principally by the minor chiefs who have a clan relationship with Tongo. So also the chief of Kurugu, Paramount Chief of the division, is usually apprised.

So much for the economic, seasonal and public context of fishing. On the appointed day ceaseless processions of men, women, adolescent boys and girls, and even children of 9 and 10 years, converge upon the selected pool. Some of them come from eight or nine miles away by winding paths through low but rough and sparsely inhabited bush. The men and boys carry bows and arrows, spears and axes, as well as their fishing nets, partly as a precaution against meeting with a hyena or leopard or some game, partly out of habit. The women, balancing their fishing baskets on the head, set out with the men. But as the procession swells they tend to drop behind to join their fellows, and come along

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

793 622 [789] the prosperity of the land. Though it is housed in his compound, neither the Chief nor any of his clansmen may set eyes on it; only the Gbizug Tendaana and his lineage may. The Chief speaks of it with an awe which is almost terror. The balance is adjusted by the Chief's rainmaking powers. Only Namoos may own rain medicine, which was brought to Taleland by their ancestor. When drought is prolonged, all the Tendaanas, led by the Gbizug Tendaana, formally call upon and implore the Chief to see to it that rain falls. So great is his rainmaking power that rain will fall at once if he merely declares, in the name of his ancestors, that their wishes will be satisfied. Such, in fact, proved to be the case in 1934.

Again, this ritual polarity is paralleled in social and personal attitudes. The Chief and the Gbizug Tendaana, in private conversation, comment with a mixture of pride, scorn, and fear each upon his opposite number.

796 Among the most striking mechanisms of this equilibrium are the ritual festivals. The various settlements are always classified in terms of them, and the natives never tire of dilating enthusiastically upon them.

Ritual and dance are the two components of every festival; the former usually esoteric, the latter public though exclusive. During the rainy season, which lasts roughly from April to September, ritual and group activities are almost completely ousted by agriculture. In July-August the early millet is harvested, but the major crops, the guinea corn and late millet, [805] still stand.[2] The Tallensi have a lunar calendar, and the last month of the rains is called the "Moon of Waters" (Kuom ŋmarig). An ethnologist cannot, alas, be in two places at the same time. I was living among the Namoos in September, 1934, and shall therefore describe the events of this and the next month from their point of view.

Weeks in advance the approaching festivals are the dominant theme of conversation for man, woman, and child. The ceremonial cycle is inaugurated by the Baari Tendaana, who ritually "throws away the water," i.e. abolishes the rains on the first day of the new month. This is announced by a burst of hallooing, which commences at Baari and sweeps across the country, the signal that the festivals have come round again.

That night the people of Baari begin their celebrations. At Tongo, on the next day, the youths and maidens are putting finishing touches to their festive costumes. On the fourth day of the moon a deputation of elders waits on the Chief, to remind him of his traditional obligation to summon a diviner on the following day.

[2] The calendrical incidence of the ritual festivals and their relation to the annual productive cycle are more fully set out in M. and S. L. Fortes, Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi (Africa, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1936).

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

From this divination emerges, first, whom the ancestor spirits have selected to bring the sacred Gingauŋ drum, after which the Namoos' festival is named, out of the Chief's court chamber. There are two Gingauŋ drums: a small one, the sacred one brought by their ancestor Mosur, and a large one, subsequently manufactured merely to add liveliness to the dance. Second, the seance establishes what sacrifices have to be made upon the shrines of the original ancestors of Tongo. In this seance the Chief and his elders, the representatives, metaphorically speaking, of the clan conscience, show how vividly the hallowing of the tradition is felt by them. The sacrifices have a double intention; to thank the ancestors for a successful harvest of early millet and for the standing crop of guinea corn, and to avert quarrels and disputes which might occur when great concourses of people flock to the dance. It is for fear of quarrels which might lead to bloodshed and thus to unknown supernatural calamities that only a youth authorized by the ancestor spirits may inaugurate the dance. The divination, as befits the joyful occasion, is nevertheless cheerful.

The sacrifices are carried out immediately, and ritual then sinks into abeyance for a time. The nightly dance occupies the center of social interest, until the moon begins to wane. For a night or two the children have almost complete possession of the dedicated dancing field, practicing their awkward steps. With the waxing moon adults throng to the dance, until in the end even young mothers come out carrying sleepy infants, and the drummers cannot be seen in the center of the great mass of poeple.

This first phase is aptly known as the Gingauŋdeema, "play Gingauŋ." It is monopolized by the younger adults and adolescents, who try out the dancing songs. But the season gets its name mainly from the sexual effervescence associated with it. Women are the cause of the disputes which threaten the peace of the dance. Not a day passes without an elopement, planned on the dancing ground. Unfortunately, few of these marriages survive the festive period; and that, perhaps explains why there is a taboo against carrying out any of the legal formalities of marriage during this month. For Baari and Tongo, the Moon of Waters is a dangerous month, in spite of the festivity, because of the human passions aroused, as is evident from the fact that it is a grave sin to shed blood on the earth, even from a scratch or cut. Strangers, and in particular Tallis, flock to watch the dance, and of course to find lovers. But only Namoos may enter the dance.

A fortnight's lull ensues during which the guinea-corn is harvested. Then comes the Moon of Daa, so named from the final phase of the festival, and the "real Gingauŋ," Gingauŋ meŋa. But I must resist the tempta-

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

tion to enter into an acount of the dynamics of the dance itself. It is the first Gingauŋ incomparably enhanced. The older men, expert dancers, are in charge, though the younger ones and even women and children have full freedom to join.

A point of psychological interest is the choral refrain which provides the organizing slogan for the dance. It consists of a verse taunting a member of a co-clan of Tongo with some moral failing. To taunt the Tallis thus would be tantamount to declaring war.

The festival reaches a climax in the second week of the moon, when it squeezes out every other social activity. In the dance this is marked by a striking bit of pantomime which symbolizes the pride of the Namoos in their chieftainship and chiefly ancestors. Suddenly, long after midnight, when the moon is at its highest and the dance at a pitch of intensity, a dozen solemn figures begin to press slowly towards the center of the dance. Spectators and dancers make way for them. They stand in rank, shoulder to shoulder, unlike the dancers who form a file. The dancers shuffle, leap and stamp, but they bob gravely from foot to foot, erect, faces set like masks, chanting a low, wordless chant. They wear faded red caps and gorgeous, though sometimes tarnished, gowns—the garb of chiefs—and carry spears. They represent their grandfathers and ancestors who had been chiefs and men of rank. The natives delight both in the dramatic contrast, and in identifying the chiefs whom the mummers represent.

And now ritual returns. On the fifteenth night there is no dancing. On the contrary, not a single person stirs out of doors after dark. For that night all the ancestors of Tongo come to dance Gingauŋ, and he who hears or sees the phantom dance dies at once. Everybody hangs out his or her finest garments for the ancestors to borrow for their dance—spiritually, of course. For they keep a sharp look-out against human thieves, who have been known not to respect the occasion. Next day, towards noon, the Baari Tendaana calls upon the Chief of Tongo, bringing a small pot of consecrated beer. All present must drink of it, and the ancestors too, for a gourd-full is sent out to be poured on the grave of Mosur. It is a convivial scene, which instantly becomes serious as the Chief begins to address the Tendaana. This is the gist of his speech: The day has returned for us to meet as our ancestors used to, and to do as they did so that we shall have untroubled sleep, marry new wives, and beget many children. We have had a good harvest. May we all live to see Golib and sow our millet in that moon successfully. May my chiefly ancestors and Mosur permit this and permit us to gain new life so that next year at this time we again celebrate Daa. The Tendaana responds with a similar blessing, saying that Baat

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Daa (the supreme bɔɣar of the Baari people) and Mosur will jointly prosper the land. Then he departs. That day Baari celebrates Daa. 796

That same evening the large Gingauŋ drum is escorted to Baari by the Gbizug Tendaana and the Wakyi Tendaana, following a ritual path. All Tongo flocks to Baari to dance with great enthusiasm on a traditional spot outside the grove of Baat Daa. Near the dance, but silently aloof, wait the Gbizug and Wakyi Tendaanas. A few hundred yards away, as if indifferent to the dance, young men of Baari assemble, wearing their ritual garb, a goatskin. When the Baari Tendaana and his ritual coadjutors arrive to join them, the Gbizug and Wakyi Tendaanas are summoned. Greetings are exchanged, and then led by the Baari Tendaana, the whole company files away in a most solemn and silent procession, brought up by the youngest members carrying pots of consecrated beer. With utter gravity this procession thrice encircles the dancers who continue to dance as if oblivious to this. Anyone who dares to break through the encircling procession is doomed to a supernatural death. The procession files away again, into the sacred grove. There the Tendaanas pour libations of beer to Baat Daa, calling down the very same blessings as had been invoked by the Chief earlier in the day. They drink the beer and send a small pot out to the representative of the Chief, who is among the dancers. Now the Tendaanas' procession emerges, again solemnly encircles the dancers, and files away. At a tree which marks the path to Tongo they stop, and marching round it in a circle, chant a song the burden of which is Mosur boot kuliga ("Mosur wants to go home"). Upon this signal the allusion of which is obvious to all, the dance breaks up, the ritual is over. 796 535 [784]

That finishes the Gingauŋ dance for a year. The next three days at Tongo are given over to the gayest festivities of the season, the celebration of Daa. This is a New Year's festival, a fitting conclusion to the dancing season. Dressed in their best and gaudiest clothes, the whole of Tongo assembles at the Chief's compound on the day after the rites at Baari. From far and near, Tongo women who have married away return to their homes, many bearing gifts of special food from their husbands. The Chief's house throngs with his people and strangers. His elders bring him presents of guinea fowls and he, sitting in state, has a bullock slaughtered, part of which he shares amongst them. The Chief, it is true, gets the better part of this exchange of gifts, but good form is satisfied. The afternoon is devoted to light-hearted dancing in praise of the Chief. 796 [574]

The Gbizug Tendaana has also celebrated Daa, but very quietly. That evening, however, Chief and Tendaana meet in ceremonial. The scene is the dancing ground. This is a dedicated area which may not be cultivated. 796 778

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

For this was the site of the first Gbizug Tendaana's compound when he received Mosur; and it is here that the Gbizug Tendaana receives every newly elected Chief of Tongo. After his investiture the Chief must never set foot in it again.

Towards evening a brother of the Chief arrives at the dancing ground, wearing the red cap and the gown, the insignia of a chief, and followed by boys carrying pots of beer. He takes his seat on the flat rock on which every newly elected chief sits down to await the Gbizug Tendaana. For an hour or two he sits gravely there, receiving the humble greetings of the men of Tongo. He is Chief for the nonce. Then a messenger arrives to announce the Gbizug Tendaana. The latter, escorted by men of his lineage, arrives in the dark and greets the mock-chief. The beer is divided out among those present, and then the Tendaana retires a dozen paces. In a voice inaudible to the Namoos, he calls upon his ancestor, the first Tendaana, and asks for the blessings of a good harvest, wives, children, and happiness in the coming year. The mock-chief dismisses his people and takes the homeward path, followed at some distance by the Tendaana and his people. As soon as he arrives at the Chief's compound, he and every other person in the compound, including the Chief himself, hides behind closed doorways in the rooms. The Tendaana enters a silent and empty compound. He goes to the secret place where the sacrosanct Chieftainship fetish is kept, pours a libation to it, and asks blessings for the Chief and all the land. When he has finished he enters the Chief's room to offer him New Year greetings, and so departs. Thus is the Chief every year renewed by a symbolic drama reenacting his first installation.

Two more days of festivity remain, during which all Tongo celebrates the New Year. Great quantities of food are cooked; there is visiting and counter-visiting, especially by affinal and cognatic relatives, and every one congratulates his neighbor on having seen another year. But the major interest of Daa is the holocaust of sacrifices which accompanies it. Fowls, guinea fowls, dogs, sheep, goats are slaughtered by the dozen in sacrifice to ancestors and to medicine fetishes. The roots of the latter are renewed, and thus given a new lease of life. There is more dancing to celebrate this, and another visit of the Baari Tendaana to the Chief to invoke blessings for the coming year. When the moon ends a few days after, the Namoos have finally done with their Harvest and New Year festival. Before that the Chief may not eat of the new guinea corn, though commoners do.

Two points deserve notice in this series of ritual celebrations. First, they express clearly the ambivalent relationships between the Namoos and their neighbors, and the bridging function of the Gbizug Tendaana. It is as if they were joined in a mutual responsibility each for the other,

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

based upon a profound antagonism. Second, the rites evidently recreate and regenerate the religious, the magical, and the traditional bulwarks of the social life of the Namoos.

A week later the scene shifts to the Hill Tallis. On the first day of the following moon, Bɔɣaraam ŋmarig, the Tallis begin their harvest festival of the same name. Despite the difference of name, it is the Daa festival translated into the peculiar and esoteric ritual idiom of the Hill Tallis. Namoos and Tallis, as the exclusion of the former from the inner mysteries at Baari indicated, constitute two religious sects. The cult of the bɔɣar, after which the Hill Tallis name their festival, dominates the religion of all the Tallis, but is known to the Namoos only by hearsay. Its hypertrophied development among the Hill Tallis is indeed completely hidden from their own sect-brethren at Baari and Gbizug. A bɔɣar may be a grove of trees, a cave in the hillside, or a small natural enclosure made by trees and boulders. It is truly sacred, for it may be entered only for ritual purposes, and in the company of all the ritual officiants. A bɔɣar's communicants generally comprise a group of linked lineages or of several clans, each of which appoints one officiant. All the ritual of the bɔɣar cult is built up on the notion of sacrifice, and every officiant or his representative must be present at every sacrifice. It is an axiom that a quarrel or dispute between communicants must be healed at once, by rites of reconciliation at the bɔɣar. The bɔɣar is the pinnacle of their ancestor cult, for it is there that all the ancestors of the communicants reside. It has tremendous magical power, amoral, like all Tale magic, and therefore applicable both for beneficient and maleficent ends. Thus its potency as fertility magic is widely renowned, and it can be invoked to bring death and destruction upon an enemy, by its communicants.

This, and much more, I learnt with very great difficulty, only after I had been initiated. For many months my enquires were fruitless. The Namoos know the dates of Bɔɣaraam, and the dances. Of the rituals they had, despite centuries of intimate contact, absolutely no knowledge. Indeed they refuse to hear of it, for they regard the cults of the Tallis with fear and aversion. The Tallis, on the other hand, never ceased to warn me against betraying what I had seen to my Namoos friends. It is, for them, the sin against the Holy Ghost punishable by instantaneous death, inflicted by the bɔɣar. This, the most absolute cleavage between the Namoos and the Hill Tallis, depends upon the fact that the latter initiate their sons into their cult. Nothing corresponding to initiation exists among the Namoos or even Gbizug or Baari. The Bɔɣaraam ritual is at the same time communion, initiation, and offering of first fruits.

The various bɔɣar congregations commence the ritual of Bɔɣaraam on

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

796 successive days, starting from the first day of the moon. The order of entry is fixed by tradition, and claims to precedence in rank are based in part on this. But preliminary sacrifices, consultations of diviners, collection of the chickens and guinea fowls which will be required, and finally ritual preparation of beer, usher in the festival. From the "Moon of Waters" on, every head of a joint family must eat out of special vessels, lest his food or water be contaminated by the newly harvested guinea corn flour, ground beans, or ocra. None of these foods are prohibited to women and younger members of the family. The taboo depends not upon some notions of the magical danger of eating unconsecrated first fruits, but upon the relationship of the communicants to the bɔγar, who has the prerogative of tasting them first.

796
881 I can not describe the esoteric rites of Bɔγaraam in detail. The main events take place during one night and the next day. The initiand youths, selected simply by the fact that their fathers can afford the numerous fowls and guinea fowls and the beer necessary for the rites, are pounced upon at night, undressed, and segregated throughout the rites. The communicants wear skins, the ritual garb of the Tallis. Women and uninitiated boys are rigorously excluded from earshot. Each elder brings fowls, guinea fowls, guinea corn flour, and cooked ground beans, and sacrifices are made in great numbers both at the houses of the Tendaanas and inside the bɔγar. The ancestors are called upon and the bɔγar is invoked. "Your day has come round again. We are about to eat the new guinea corn. Hence we bring you this offering of guinea corn and beans and these, your bɔγaraam chickens. Grant us untroubled sleeping. May our wives bear children, and may we sow early millet successfully and meet again next year." This is the theme of the sacrificial invocations. Every chicken thus slaughtered is observed with concentrated anxiety. It must come to rest on its back, else the doner has sinned in some way and must at once go to a diviner to discover how. For the initiands long life, success in marriage and in farming, and safety from enemies is begged. It is a very serious thing if an initiand's fowl is rejected by the ancestors; and all proceedings are suspended until the sin is traced and atonement made.

The ritual is sensationally dramatic, and entirely different in style and emphasis from Namoos ritual. There is a constant interweaving of the three motifs, of communion, initiation, and first fruit offerings. The tone fluctuates between intense and almost terrified ritual participation and casual conviviality, when the beer is being divided.

The bɔγar is first entered mysteriously in pitch darkness; but the "high spot" is what might be called the administration of the sacrament to the

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

initiands next day. They have been treated throughout with veiled contumely, like infants and outcasts, seated on the bare ground, their backs to the ceremonial. When the sacrifices are over and the beer consumed, the initiands are brusquely dragged up, each in turn, to the altar of the bɔɣar. Kneeling before it, quivering with fear, his eyes blindfolded by the hands of one officiant, his hands clasping a chicken whose neck he saws off on a rough stone with the help of another officiant, he is made to swear repeatedly "If I tell anybody may I die." This then is the secret of the impregnability of the Tallis bɔɣar cult both to the Namoos and to the ethnologist.

Before they leave, the meat and flour of all the sacrifices are divided out according to strict rules of prerogative; the initiands being fed with a tiny piece of meat and flour dumpling each. The rôle of each participant kinship group is defined in terms of the officiant it elects, the contributions it makes to the sacrifices, and the share of meat, beer, and flour it receives. The natives stress this organizational balance more jealously than details of ritual; for it is the structural framework which preserves the ritual collaboration. Finally, all the communicants, including those newly initiated, are daubed on brows, arms, and knees with consecrated red mud, the concrete emblem of the beneficient magic they are carrying home.

Bɔɣaraam, like Daa, is the occasion when married daughters return home with gifts of food and guinea fowls from their husbands, and men who have migrated to distant parts try to return for the ceremonies. Dancing follows after the ritual day. But as each settlement dances by itself, the Bɔɣaraam dancing is neither so impressive nor so great a focus of social interest as Gingauŋ. This time the Namoos are onlookers, for they may not enter the Tallis dances.

The Bɔɣaraam festival of the Hill Tallis thus appears to be homologous with the Gingauŋ and Daa of the Namoos, and the Daa of Baari, in its calendrical reference and its functional context. For Chief, Tendaanas, and elders, the fathers of the community who bear the greatest burden of responsibility for its welfare, the ritual is the dominant theme. For those of lesser social responsibility, the dancing and festivity, the fellowship of jubilation, are of major value. For everybody, these are festivals of reunion in which family and wider agnatic connections, the unique fact for the individual of having been born into a certain family and clan, receive special emphasis.

But what must chiefly interest us, in this paper, is to observe how these festivals differentiate and bind the Namoos and the Tallis. On the one hand it seems as if each community consolidates itself socially and morally by the very act of repulsing its neighbor. Behind its stone wall of exclusiveness,

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

182 even to the date of its festival, each community celebrates its release from the hazards of the past year and especially of the food-growing season, and fortifies itself by magical and religious techniques for another year. Nothing could more strikingly demonstrate the factors of dichotomy and antagonism in the polarity which we saw previously to be fundamental to Tale political structure than the difference between the rites of the Hill Tallis and those of the Namoos. It is true that every Tale ceremonial activity expresses the exclusiveness of the group performing it; but in these festivals the expression of difference has a political validity because it is reciprocal. The difference is published in the dance and dramatized in esoteric ritual.

But Namoos and Tallis are culturally equivalent communities, dwelling in close juxtaposition, having intimate economic and social relationships with each other. This, it seems to me, sets a limit to the degree of antagonistic differentiation tolerable; and thus the other factor in the polarity of Tale society comes into existence—the equilibrium between the two communities. The very opposition, as it were, engenders dependence. This aspect of Namoos-Tallis relations comes out clearly in the ceremony at Baari, in the visits of the Baari Tendaana to the Chief, and in the ritual reenacting of the Chief's induction at Tongo. It is notable how these rituals vividly insulate each group from the other, while at the same time uniting them in common responsibility for the welfare of the country.

182 The same compulsion to coöperate in the magical safeguarding of the land and the people obtains between the Namoos and the Hill Tallis. It is 196 expressed in the Golib festival, which unfortunately space does not permit me to describe fully. The purpose of this festival, which occurs in the last month of the dry season, is to ensure a successful sowing and harvesting of early millet and to call down the blessing of fertility in general. In it all the clans of the Hill Tallis collaborate ritually and unite to dance together. In their ritual collaboration the distribution of offices and sacred apparatus among the several clans is so remarkably equal that each one of them can claim with ostensibly full justification to be more important than [578] the others. It so happens that a bitter personal feud is at present raging between one of these officiants, on the one hand, and the Chief of Tongo and another of the Golib officiants, on the other. But none of them could escape his obligation to coöperate with his enemy in the appropriate ceremonial situations. Here, perhaps, is a clue to the problem of why ritual forms and religious situations should be the institutional media selected for the expression of the equilibrium in Tale society. They have a compulsive power which a pragmatic institution orientated to the demands of the objective world could never have.

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Golib is a dangerous month, during which both Namoos and Tallis are subject to numerous taboos, mainly aimed at averting quarrels and strife at the dances and in everyday relations between the groups. It is forbidden to shed blood on the earth, lest supernatural death overtake one, to take a wife, to carry out the final ceremonies connected with delayed funeral rites, to wear cloth garments in any of the Hill Tallis settlements, and so forth. Marriages are the cause of most inter-group litigation, and funeral ceremonies represent social situations in which large numbers of people from different settlements congregate and often give rise to disputes. Throughout, the Namoos are spectators of the dancing and excluded from the ritual. But on two occasions they meet the Hill Tallis in ceremonial interaction. In the inaugural rites the Hill Tallis, led by their Tendaanas, march to all their sacred groves in succession blowing sacred whistles in honor of them. When they reach the sacred groves which lie in Tongo, every Namoo man, woman, and child hides indoors. A Namoo who sees these rites of the Hill Tallis risks the destruction of his entire home and family by the outraged sacred groves. Once again, therefore, are the Namoos and Tallis mutually insulated or segregated by the symbolism of unchallengable ritual, the living affirmation of tradition. But there is a ritual reintegration of the groups. The final rite of Golib requires the coöperation of the Chief of Tongo. Again led by their Tendaanas, the Hill Tallis come down to the Chief's house to dance; and there Tendaanas and Chief join together to beg for blessings upon the land, for the safety of the people and the abundance of crops.

To revert to the harvest festivals, the magical and religious value of the ceremonial to the group performing it must not blind us to its socially integrative functions. The former is mainly determined by the seasonal context of the festivals and is evidenced preeminently in commonplace techniques, such as the sacrifice. The latter, which is determined primarily by the context of the social structure, is evidenced in the ceremonies peculiar to the occasion. These differ completely in content, as between Namoos and Tallis, a fact which the natives would explain by citing the historically different origins of the two groups. This suggests the principle common to all the integrative ceremonies. It is the dramatization of the nodal, hence traditionally sanctioned, relationship in the social structure of each group —the Chieftainship at Tongo, the right of access to the boyar among the Tallis. This fundamental bond is resuscitated in both the symbolical and the direct phases of the ceremonies. The Chief and the Gbizug or Baari Tendaana thus reimpose on each other those responsibilities which bind them to a common task; and, by the very same rites, the Chief and his

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

82
796

people redefine each the place of the other in a social system the essence of which is the Chieftainship. The Hill Tallis, again, reestablish the responsibility of each initiated man for the preservation of their traditional cult, by imposing it upon the next generation, and thus reaffirm the loyalty of each to the other, and of sons to fathers.

To sum up, social cohesion as I understand this concept, both within and between the major communities which constitute Tale society, is no ultimate attribute of that society, but is achieved by specific social mechanisms such as those I have described. To me its most significant feature appears to be the fact that this integration is engendered as an equilibrium between opposed groups, over-riding, it seems, the tendencies to conflict inherent in the system. It is worthy of note that this principle of a balance of powers is exploited also within each community to overcome the competitive autonomy of its constituent groupings.

Whether only a single general process is involved, accomodation to an immigrant group, is beyond my power to determine. One could presumably envisage the entire pattern of ritual and political values as a "reaction" to the "foreign body" represented by the Namoos clans. It seems not unlikely also that the equilibrium thus achieved is itself the barrier that prevents the diffusion of the esoteric rites of one community to the other.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES
LONDON, ENGLAND